

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 5568

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: SPECIAL WORKING BODY: PROGRESS REPORT

REF: GENEVA 5248

1. SUMMARY. TWO WEEKS OF DISCUSSIONS ON SOVIET AND ROMANIAN PAPERS IN THE SPECIAL WORKING BODY (SWB) HAVE YIELDED LITTLE PROGRESS ON SUBSTANCE BUT HAVE PLACED SOVIETS IN DIFFICULT TACTICAL POSITION. WORK ON THESE PAPERS WILL RESUME OCTOBER 29. END SUMMARY.

2. SPECIAL WORKING BODY (SWB) ON PARA 21 OF HELSINKI FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS (HFR) DEVOTED TWO FULL WEEKS TO DISCUSSING SOVIET AND ROMANIAN PAPERS DISCUSSED REFTEL. MEETINGS BEGAN WITH PROTRACTED DISCUSSION ON MEANING OF FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA 21 OF HFR. SOVIETS ARGUED THEIR PAPER WAS SUBMITTED UNDER FIRST SENTENCE, WHICH REQUIRES SWB TO PRODUCE A RESULT, AND NOT SECOND SENTENCE WHICH DIRECTS SWB TO ONLY "CONSIDER PROPOSALS". DEBATE CONCLUDED WITH SOVIET REP
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ADMITTING THEIR PAPER COULD NOT FIT UNDER THE LITERAL

LANGUAGE OF FIRST SENTENCE BUT BELONGED THERE BECAUSE SENTENCE REALLY INTENDED BY MPT TO COVER SOVIET PROPOSAL.

3. TURNING TO SUBSTANCE, SEVERAL WESTERN INTERVENTIONS EXPRESSED GENERALLY CRITICAL REMARKS ON BOTH PAPERS. BUT MOST NATO DELS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH STRATEGY DEVELOPED IN CAUCUS, POSED QUESTION OF WHETHER CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF BOTH PAPERS DUPLICATE WORK BEING DONE IN OTHER COMMITTEES. THE HOPE WAS THAT IN TIME SOVIETS COULD BE DRAWN OUT INTO EXPECTED OPPOSITION TO ROMANIAN PROPOSALS DESCRIBED PARAS 5, 6, AND 7 REFTEL.

4. DURING COURSE OF DISCUSSION SOVIET AND ROMANIAN PROPOSALS DEALING WITH CULTURAL, SCIENTIFIC AND ECONOMIC LINKS AND HUMAN CONTACTS WERE COMPARED TO WORK GOING FORWARD IN BASKETS II AND III. SOVIET REP AGREED THAT DISCUSSION ON THEIR TWO PROPOSALS IN THIS AREA COULD BE POSTPONED UNTIL BASKETS II AND III HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS. VARIOUS WESTERN DELS OBSERVED THAT ROMANIAN PAPER INCLUDED THEREE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES (CBMS) AND SUGGESTED DISCUSSION THERE OF IN SUB-COMMITTEE 2. SOVIET AND ROMANIAN PROPOSALS FOR WHAT IS ESSENTIALLY A PRINCIPLE ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WERE DESCRIBED BY SEVERAL NATO DELS AS DUPLICATING WORK OF SUB-COMMITTEE 1.

5. PRIOR TO FINAL MEETING ON THIS SUBJECT OCTOBER 12, ROMANIAN DEL LOBBIED WESTERN DELEGATIONS ASKING THAT ROMANIAN PAPER NOT BE FRAGMENTED AND DESTROYED AT SUCH AN EARLY DATE SINCE IT HAD THE PERSONAL CLEARANCE AND BACKING OF THEIR PRIME MINISTER. AT MEETING ON OCT 15, A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING SEVERAL NATO DELS, SUPPORTED KEEPING ROMANIAN PAPER INTACT AND DISCUSSING IT IN SWB WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF EXPERTS FROM OTHER SUB-COMMITTEES AS NEEDED. SOVIET REP, IN FIRST INTERVENTION RELATING TO ROMANIAN PAPER, STATED THAT HE DID NOT FAVOR A FORMAL DECISION ON THIS MATTER AT THAT TIME AND WISHED TO RESERVE HIS POSITION FOR FUTURE DISCUSSIONS.

6. AT NATO CAUCUS OCT 16, UK DEL FELT THAT WESTERN DELEGATIONS HAD BROKEN RANKS ON TREATMENT OF ROMANIAN PAPER. CONFIDENTIAL

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ALL OTHER DELS, HOWEVER, THOUGHT ALLIANCE WAS IN AN OPTIMUM POSITION IN THAT ROMANIAN PAPER HAD BEEN FAVORED OVER SOVIET PAPER WHICH HAS BEEN FRAGMENTED. IN ADDITION, SOVIET RETREAT ON FIRST SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 21 HAD STRENGTHENED WESTERN POSITION FOR FUTURE DEBATES AND SOVIETS HAD FOR THE FIRST TIME BEEN FORCED INTO POSITION OPPOSING ROMANIAN PAPER. SEVERAL DELS REPORTED THAT THEY HAD LEARNED THROUGH EASTERN DEL SOURCES THAT SOVIET DELEGATION WAS "SHOCKED AND DISMAYED"

AT THE RESURRECTION OF ROMANIAN PAPER, MOST OF WHICH THEY
FIRMLY OPPOSE. PORTUGUESE REP REPORTED THAT SOVIETS ARE IN
A QUANDARY AS TO HOW TO HANDLE THIS AND HAVE DECIDED THAT
THEY MUST EITHER SPEAK UP THEMSELVES TO KILL MOST
ELEMENTS OF ROMANIAN PAPER OR REMAIN SILENT AND ALLOW
THEIR ALLIES TO DO SO UNDER INSTRUCTIONS. SOME NATO DELS
WERE SKEPTICAL THAT SOVIETS WOULD OPPOSE ROMANIAN PROPOSAL
FOR AN ALL-EUROPEAN TREATY ON NON-USE OF FORCE. SWB IS
SCHEDULED TO RESUME DISCUSSIONS OF SOVIET AND ROMANIAN
PAPERS OCTOBER 29. BASSIN

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